1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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entirely in caves; trading places called *wadia* near the caves, but out of sight of them, under a tree or rock, were used for bartering, where all strangers would stop and shout and then wait until their calls had been answered from the caves. 342 437

The Veddas were extremely jealous of their women, and intimate as our informant was with them as a young man, he was never taken to their caves while their women were there. 662

The wilder Veddas could not count, at least they used no numerals beyond one, the method being to say "one" "and one" "and one," etc., probably putting a piece of stick on the ground or making a mark for each unit mentioned. Both hands with fingers extended were held up for ten, or perhaps for any number above six. 802

The "silent trade" was only a tradition even among the wildest Veddas and had probably been extinct in this part of the country for at least two generations. 437

The wilder Veddas had no areca nuts but chewed the bark of trees mixed with lime which they obtained by burning land shells which they called *wantako*. 276

Cousin marriage took place, the unions being arranged by the parents of the young people. 582

Honey, dried venison and flesh of the monitor lizard were brought by the young man to the girl's father[1], who would call his daughter and give her in charge of her husband, for whom she would immediately make a waist string (*dia lanuwa*). 584 583

She made no pretence of running away from her husband. 587

Widows married an unmarried brother of their first husband if this were possible, in any case they might remarry and their sexual morality was as high as that of unmarried girls. 831

The wilder Veddas of the district belonged to the Morane and Unapane *waruge*; each clan had its own set of caves, though, since their members intermarried, there could have been no rigid exclusiveness about the arrangement. 614 554

There were people of Uru *waruge* at a little distance; their status was lower than that of the Morane and Unapane folk, neither of whom would marry into this clan, and it was even said that the men of [582]

[1] It was not clear whether more than one formal present of food was made; it must be remembered that a youth always gives part of any important kill to his potential father-in-law, cf. p. 67.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Uru *warugé* should carry game and honey for the men of Morane and Unapane.

Some of the village Veddas of those days had cloth, and when dancing to the *yaku* they wore the long cloth garment called *hangalla*; the wilder Veddas had no cloth and wore leaves, but it was not clear whether they had not also a certain amount of bark cloth which was their ordinary covering, and leaves may have been worn in addition when they invoked the *yaku*[1].

The old man knew of the custom of a man keeping a piece of human liver in his betel pouch; it was universal and in his young days every Vedda desired to have a piece. Strangers, even Veddas, who intruded on the hunting grounds would be killed and their liver taken, no other part of the dead man being used, and the custom gave rise neither to warfare nor to vendettas[2].

Caves in which a death occurred were deserted, the corpse being covered with leaves; perhaps men very near dissolution were left before death had actually occurred, but this did not seem certain. Bones found in the cave when the group returned to it after an interval of some ten or twelve years were thrown away quite carelessly. The spirits of the dead became the Nae Yaku who, with Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, gave game and prosperity. The *kirikoraha* ceremony was performed for the Nae Yaku, and *adukku* (cooked food), which even in the old days consisted of coconut and rice, was offered to them. The wilder Veddas gave nothing to the Buddhist priests and made no offerings at shrines, nor did they know the Kataragam God, Kanda Swami, though the village Veddas worshipped him and knew that Walliame had been taken to wife by him, and honey was presented to the goddess at certain shrines, especially one at Kokote Sila, frequented by the village Veddas.

A few of the village Veddas would dance for the Sinhalese in order to protect their cattle, bring prosperity to their villages, and secure them from epidemics; they would dance *kolamaduwa* which the old man pointed out was derived from a

[1] Cf. p. 213.
[2] For details of this custom see Chapter VIII.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Veddas are coming more and more in contact with their Sinhalese neighbours, and it is extremely unlikely that the next generation will remain pure.

We visited two of the nearest chena settlements of these people, the huts (Plate X, figure 1) were about as well built as those of the average Sinhalese chena, though the cultivation itself was certainly less systematic and orderly. The Namadewa folk lived in one settlement while the Morane and Unapane inhabited another.

Although all these Veddas have come in contact with the Sinhalese and are visited by Moormen hawkers for trade purposes—as indeed even the wildest have been for many generations—they have retained their old custom of not allowing the stranger in the midst of their settlement where he might meet their women. A rough shelter had been built at one corner of the Namadewa chena in which the pedlars sat and waited until the Vedda men came to bargain with them. Hence in the main these people have retained their old virtues of truthfulness, chastity and courtesy. The first, upon which practically every observer has remarked, was modified in a particular direction, for they all wished to show that they were pure-blooded Veddas of the Morane and Unapane clans, which were considered superior to the rest. So the Namadewa men lied freely, declaring that they belonged to Morane and Unapane, and one young man, otherwise a good informant, insisted that he was still unmarried, as he did not want to own that his wife was a Namadewa woman. Cases of intermarriage with Sinhalese were also emphatically denied, or only admitted after much cross-examination. Plate III represents a number of the men we met at Bendiyagalge.

Danigala. The Danigala Veddas of the Nilgala district present a peculiar phase of the clash of civilization and barbarism. They are the classical "wild Veddas" of Ceylon described by so many travellers; their descent is pure but their own customs have been almost entirely forgotten, and are certainly ignored at the present day. They live in the park country, have a chena and a banana garden, and do a good trade in cattle both by herding for the Sinhalese, retaining every fifth calf as is the

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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601 such favourite names as Kaira, Poromala and Handuna leads to
551 confusion, not only in the minds of strangers, but also we believe in the minds of the Veddas themselves.

Sinhalese who come in contact with the Veddas find the same
601 difficulty, and the individuals of certain communities, e.g.
551 Danigala, have each a Sinhalese name by which they are known
197 to the peasant Sinhalese, and which in many instances they themselves recognise, so that some Veddas actually know each other by these Sinhalese names, and give them when asked their own names or those of their companions. This is the explanation of the majority of Sinhalese names occurring in the
601 genealogies. Again, the fact that among the Veddas there is no system of hereditary chieftainship, or any other custom such
[622 as the vendetta, forcing a man to know and remember his grand-
628] fathers, cannot but have assisted to bring about the forgetfulness of previous generations, which with the rarest exceptions makes everyone entirely ignorant of his grandparents. In the case of the Danigala and Henebedda Veddas there was an additional difficulty to be met in conducting our investigations. The men
601 of these communities who for the most part belonged to the
614 Morane and Unapane clans, traditionally the proudest and most
● 554 important of the Vedda *waruge*, had to a certain extent intermarried with Sinhalese and also with the Veddas of Namadewa clan, a *waruge* which in this part of the country is regarded as of inferior status. They are most anxious to conceal instances of both these classes of marriage and lied freely concerning them and this is the reason for certain lacunae in their genealogies, which in the case of the Danigala community could not have been given at all had not Mr Bibile's position as Ratemahatmaya, i.e. hereditary overlord or "laird" of this part of the country, enabled him to make inquiries from the surrounding peasantry, and thus check, and in many instances correct, the information we obtained from the Veddas themselves.

621 A Vedda community consists of from one to five families who share the rights of hunting over a tract of land, of gathering honey upon it, fishing its streams, and using the rock shelters. But the whole of the community does not commonly move about its territory as one band, it is far more common to find only the

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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614 582 611 *waruge*, the remaining four between Morane and Aembala (2) or Rugam (2) *waruge*.

Dambani. These extremely sophisticated Veddas probably belong to Namadewa *waruge* and descent is probably matrilineal.

Malgode (Horaborawewa). Our informants knew of 614 Namadewa, Dehigama and Kapatu *waruge* and no others, but when Morane *waruge* was mentioned to them one man stated that he had heard of a *waruge* of that name.

Girandura. Here too exogamy prevailed though children [582 611] took their father's *waruge*, and we could discover no exception to these rules. The marriages we could trace took place between Dehigama and Namadewa *waruge*, and between Dehigama and Uru *waruge*, we consequently assume that these are the *waruge* represented in this community.

The Comparative Status of the Clans.

614 The members of the Morane and Unapane clans generally considered themselves superior to the Namadewa, Uru and ●554 Aembala *waruge*. This feeling was so strong at Henebedda that much difficulty was at first experienced in collecting genealogies. Representatives of the Morane, Unapane and Namadewa clans were for the time living together at Bendiyagalge caves, and the difference in status between the Morane and Unapane on the one hand, and Namadewa on the other, was felt so strongly that the members of the last-mentioned *waruge* invariably denied their clan, while the Morane and Unapane [582a] folk said the Namadewa were their servants. It seemed clear that in the old days Morane and Unapane folk never married into one of the servile clans, but two or three such marriages had taken place within recent years, and in every case these marriages were at first denied. The most striking proof of this feeling was evinced when we had come to know all the members of the community and pretence had been largely given up; Sita Wanniya and Poromala our usual guides, both Morane men, led us one day to the Namadewa chena. The Namadewa men immediately began an angry protest. "These people," they said, meaning Poromala and Sita Wanniya, "call us Namadewa; it

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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is not so, we are as good as they," and again on leaving they declared that even if they were not Morane folk they were certainly as good, for had not the eldest born of Kaira the patriarch of Danigala, a Morane man, married a woman from their family? This last statement was proved to be true by the genealogy. As neither we nor our guides said anything to provoke these remarks the intensity of the feeling cannot be doubted. At Bandaraduwa there were only Morane and Unapane men, but they said that Uru *waruge* were their servants, and that some people of this clan lived near Uniche; Wannaku seen later was doubtless one of these. At the chena settlement at Rerenkadi one woman said the Uru *waruge* were "dirty" people. This was one of the first Vedda communities we visited, and the significance of the remark was not realised at the time. At Dambani the people professed to have forgotten their *waruge*; we therefore surmised that they might belong to one of the inferior clans, and later at Horaborawewa a Vedda boy said his mother was a Namadewa woman from Dambani. Additional evidence in support of this view was furnished by the statements of the Alutnuwara Arachi recorded on p. 52.

The services that the inferior clans were said to render to other clans were as follows: when big game was shot and fish caught the Namadewa men must carry it, and they must make the creeper ladders for gathering rock honey. How much of this work was really done by Namadewa people is extremely difficult to say, it is scarcely credible that when living apart from the servile clans the Morane and Unapane men would send for them to carry a kill, but when Poromala of Henebedda (Morane) had killed a deer and cut it up on the *talawa* near our camp, it was noticed that Kalua, a Namadewa boy who had not been hunting, came down from the cave and carried back the greater part of the meat.

THE TERRITORIAL GROUPING OF THE CLANS.

Although at the present day it cannot be said that a territorial grouping of the clans certainly exists, or ever existed, there is considerable evidence that this once prevailed. We

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Things new to them which we showed

152 522 them often provoked peals of laughter; to see the eldest and most venerable man solemnly have his thumb nail pressed by a brass machine (algometer) was particularly amusing to the rest of the community, one man actually rolling on the ground with laughter. The old man took it all in excellent part and smiled indulgently. Doubtless Veddas vary much in character, but all except the "show" Veddas are genial and courteous, and have always been rightly considered truthful. At Sitala 153 Wanniya Handuna was the most intelligent man, keenly in- 554 terested in all the new things we showed him; he obviously 156 ruled the community by force of character, coupled with the fact that he was a shaman. Nila, however, was also a shaman, but he was obviously not so strong a man as Handuna, to whose opinion he deferred, and naturally took second place. Vela, half-brother of Handuna, was extremely shy but by no means stupid, he generally tried to get out of doing things, professing inability, but when urged by Handuna did everything as well as the other men. Kaira, *baesa* (son-in-law) to Handuna, was intelligent and talkative and inclined to be boastful. Pema, *baesa* to Nila, did not speak much, chiefly we thought because he was a young man and had not much to tell, for although he did not chatter like Kaira he smiled and did not hang his head when addressed, as Vela did.

342 592 621 423 Whether staying in a "private" or "communal" cave the family life continues in much the same manner. If in a communal cave, each family keeps strictly within its own limits, the women may always be seen at exactly the same spot, and when the men come in they sit or lie beside their wives, keeping to that part of the cave floor that belongs to them as carefully as though there was a partition dividing it from that of their neighbours. Figure 2 is a plan of Pihilegodagalge showing the actual division of floor space. Food is frequently 621 422 cooked by one woman and shared by all the members of the community, in fact, although it might be cooked separately, it did not seem that any food was private property. One other fact was very noticeable in communal caves, namely, that men never kept their bows and arrows in their own division, but always put them all together in a particular

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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wilder till after a final leap between the posts Nila fell supine with outstretched arms, and was immediately supported by one of the onlookers. The *yaka* of the high post now possessed Nila who, after a few minutes' immobility, began to shiver and gasp, then springing forward he danced to the posts with shuffling feet and head bent forward, and examined each one in turn. This he did by dropping his head on them so that his face was partly buried in the bast, his supporter always close behind him (Plate XLV, fig. 2). We were told that Nila was now possessed by all three *yaku*, who appear to have entered him as he bent over the posts. The exact moment of the entry and exit of the *yaka* into the person of the shaman was often very ill-defined, although in this instance, and indeed in most cases when more than one *yaka* was present at a dance, it was clear when the first *yaka* arrived, it seemed that the other *yaka* entered the shaman without giving any immediate sign of their presence.

The *yaku* speaking through Nila signified that they were pleased with the posts built for their reception. Then Nila picked up the *wila* and shouting, apparently with approval, held it up by each end and whirled the handle round making the bast strands fly out, then he approached Mari and waved it over her head and rested it there, so that her head was buried in the bast for several seconds while Nila predicted a male child (Plate XLVI, fig. 1)[1]. Nila then danced to Handuna and waved the *wila* over him. No particular reason was given for this, Handuna being no relation to the woman, but he was the most important old man in the community.

After covering Handuna with the *wila*, Nila danced wildly, always with the rapt expression of a man possessed by a *yaku*, showing his pleasure by holding the *wila* aloft and whirling it round and round. Then Nila put down the *wila* and took the *aasawula* and dancing with it in his hand he approached Mari stretching it out towards her, but he only stayed a few seconds and passed on to Handuna and falling on the latter's chest spoke and again foretold the birth of a male child to Mari.

[1] The sex of the child is determined by the position assumed by the strips of bast as they fall over the woman's head. If most fall over the woman's face the child will be a girl, if over the occiput a boy.